

Saionji-Harada Memoire  
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Since the Navy Minister and the Premier had met on the morning of the 15th, I asked Foreign Minister ARITA about it. ARITA said: "The Navy Minister was asked: 'How is the situation now in the Navy?' The Navy Minister answered: 'It is as steady as it has been from the beginning. There is no room for compromise in the Navy.' The War Minister said: 'I like the reply withheld for two or three days more.'"

Foreign Minister ARITA also told me: "The Premier asked me to come over to his room after the Cabinet meeting so I went. He said: 'I hear the American Ambassador is leaving on the 19th and I would like to have him take my message to the President.' The message is to the effect of: 'Japan would like to maintain the peace in Europe together with the United States. Therefore, Japan

would like to contribute toward the settlement of the disputes as soon as possible.' About this (message), I would like to send it as the message of the Premier with further study. The Premier did not mention anything about the strengthening of the Anti-Comintern Pact, so I did. He said just about the same thing that we heard from the Navy Minister. The Premier also said that he did not know what to do because the Navy will not compromise at all."

At noon on the 16th, I (HARADA) invited the American Ambassador and the Counselor (Embassy) together with their families for a little farewell party at the Sagano. At this party, the American Ambassador (J. C. Grew) told me: "When I meet the President <sup>f</sup> and he might ask me: 'What does Japan demand of United States?, what attitude does Japan want United States to take in the China problem?, what should United States do to keep in pace with Japan?', I have no material

on hand to answer these questions. What do you suggest?" I (HARADA) told him: "All right. Before you meet the Foreign Minister on the 19th, I will convey your desire to Foreign Minister ARITA. When you meet him, I will convey your desire to Foreign Minister ARITA. When you meet him, I will try to arrange it so that you get satisfactory answers." The Ambassador was very pleased and said: "Will you do that for me, please?"

As soon as I returned, I talked over the phone with ARITA. ARITA said that he just heard the same story from the Premier this noon. Furthermore, he had to listen to the lecture (by the Premier) of the peace with United States.

Later, I heard from the American Counselor (DOOMAN) that the Premier had sent a 'ronin' (ex-politician) with a message saying that he (Premier) desired to see DOOMAN. It seems as if the Premier wanted to meet him because

DOOMAN can speak Japanese. At any rate he said he will meet with the Premier in a few days. So I (HARADA) told him (DOOMAN) to explain the general trends of the world frankly and openly. I called up ARITA and told him of these circumstances. ARITA said that the Premier was asking about DOOMAN, but I think it is cancelled now. Instead, I am to convey the message to the (American) Ambassador. However, I thought it to be very disagreeable for the Premier to use such a 'ronin' to convey and discuss important diplomatic problems.

A few days later, I unexpectedly ran into DOOMAN on the street. He said: "The date for my meeting with the Premier has been set as the coming Tuesday, the 23rd." ARITA's guess was wrong and DOOMAN said: "I will let you know of the results of our meeting."

On the morning of the 18th, GREW met with Foreign Minister ARITA. ARITA said: "I've considered about three problems and talked about

Def. Doc. #3030

it today with GREW. First of all, a matter which is mentioned frequently; the real intention of the Japanese Government for the establishment of a new order in East Asia is not to be misconceived. For example, there are rumors of the monopolization of China by Japan or that Japan will expel European influence for the development of trade and economy. In order to destroy such rumors, I explained to him emphatically that Japan has no such intentions at all, and that Japan will protect the existing rights and interests of the other nations in China and will not hinder the economic activity of the United States and the European nations.

"Secondly, United States will be in error to establish a national policy with the impression that Japan joined the totalitarian nations by entering the Anti-Comintern Pact. Unless the United States clearly recognizes that Japan is not joining the totalitarian nations, it will cause trouble for each other



in the event of deciding on a national policy. I want you to understand this point thoroughly. I hope to consider everything on the basis of peace and the goodwill toward the United States.

"Thirdly, concerning the matters of the islands along the southern coast of China and Hainan Island, there is apt to be the misunderstanding that Japan possesses the ambition to invade the South Seas and consequently, there are many who think that the Philippine Islands, Guam and Hawaii are in danger. Therefore, I fear that this may create an undesirable atmosphere in Japan-American relations. In case the American Government desires to know the policy of the Japanese Government, especially in this matter, the Japanese Government is ready to hold a conference at any time. GREW understood everything and returned aboard a ship which sailed that evening."

The Foreign Minister added the following to the American Ambassador as the message of

the Premier. It is not desirable to have a war started in Europe. Though there are the points Germany and Italy should refrain from, it is also believed that there is room for consideration on the part of England and France. It is I presumed that the United States also believes in preventing war; Japan also entertains the same belief. In such circumstances, especially when both of us are outside of the European circle, there is room and bases for mutual cooperation to preserve the peace. These were added by the Foreign Minister and was sent to the President of the United States and the Secretary of State as the message of the Premier.

西園寺原田日記抜萃  
第三百二十六回  
昭和十四年五月二十三日

「海軍大臣と總理と十五日の午前に會つたので、其様子をも有田外務大臣から聞くと、海軍大臣に、海軍の其後の様子はどうか、と言つて経過を聞いたので、海軍大臣としては「最初から一切不動である、海軍側としては何等譲歩する余地はない」と云ふ話であつた、尙ほ海軍大臣は「二三日返事を留保してくれ」と云ふことであつた由である。」

それで有田外相の話に依ると「閣議の後で總理大臣が自分の室に來て呉れと云ふから行つた處がアメリカ大使が十九日に歸國するさうだが、その前に自分のメッセーヂを大使館に傳えて貰ひ度い、それは日本は米國と共に歐羅巴の平和の欲れないやうに維持したい。で一日も速く紛争の解決に貢獻したいと思ふ、といふ話をして居つたそれに就ては尙ほ自分もよく考へて總理のメッセーヂとして言はう



と思ふけれども一方の防共強化の問題に就ては總理として何も話さなかつたから自分の方から話を引出した處が矢張以上述べたやうな海軍大臣から聞いた通りのことを言つて居つた。さうして海軍は少しも譲らないんで困ると總理は言つて居つた」と云ふことであつた。

それから十六日の晝に自分は嵯峨野に米國大使及び參事官を家族と共によんで聊かはかりの送別會をした、其時にアメリカ大使が自分に言ふのに「自分がアメリカに歸つて大統領に會つた時に日本は一体何をアメリカに要求して居るのか又支那に對する問題に就てアメリカはどうか云ふ態度を執れば好いか日本と歩調を揃へて行くにはどうすれば好いか」と云ふことを聞かれた時に自分は今の自分の手になんにも材料を持たない一体どうすれば好いのだ」と云ふ話であるから「宜しい、それなら十九日に外務大臣に會ふまでには自分は有田外務大臣によく眞下の氣持を通じてさうして有田と眞下と會つた時に或程度まで眞下が満足出来るやうに努力して見やう」と云ふ話をした處が大使も非常に喜んで「是非一つ頼む

一と云ふことであつたから自分は歸つてから直ぐ有田と電話で話した處が、有田は恰度總理から今日晝、先刻言つたやうな話を聞かされ又對米平和論を一席聞かされて云々と云ふ話をして居つたので、恰度遙然さう云ふことになつて居つたが向は後からアメリカ參事官に聞くと取る浪人が總理の意を受けてドウマンと會ひ度いと總理が言つて居ると言ふ話であつた。それは恐らくドウマンは日本話が出來る爲に總理が話して見たのと云ふ氣が起たらしいので數日中に日取を決めて總理と會ふ、と言ふことであつたから早速に世界の大勢を説いて思ひ切つて總理へ話してやれと言つて置いたが、其事柄も自分は即座に有田に、かういふ經緯があると言つて電話で話した處が有田はどうりで總理はドウマンなんかのことを此間聞いて居つて其話の或は取止めになつて自分が總理のメッセーヂを大使に言へばそれで済むんぢやないかと言つて居つたが然し兎に角總理がさう云ふやうな浪人なんかを使つて大事な外交の事柄を取次いで話させるのと云ふことが甚だ訝しな話であつて不筋から言へば洵に面白くないと自分は思つた。

數日後に偶然途中でドウーマンに會つたら、一來週の火曜、即廿三日に總  
 理と會ふことになつたと言つて居つて、矢張有田の想像とは違つた、で、  
 ドウーマンは、「會つた様子は又貴下に話さう」と言つて居つた。  
 十八日の朝、グルーが有田外務大臣を訪ねていろいろ話したので、有田か  
 らの話に「グルーには自分も其後三つの問題を考へて、今日それをグルーに  
 話した」と言つて居つた、先づ第一は同時も言ふことだけれども、東亞の新  
 秩序に對する日本政府の眞意、これは誤解のないやうに、例へば支那大陸を  
 日本のみで占領しよう、とか、貿易とか經濟、即ち發展に關して歐羅巴の勢  
 力を驅逐するやうないろんなデマがあるから、此デマを粉碎する爲に、何處  
 までも日本にはさう云ふ意思は毛頭ない、既存の第三國の權益を擁護し、尚  
 無論從來通り日本は支那に於ける歐米の經濟活動を決して妨げるものではな  
 い、と云ふことをよく説いて置いた、第二に防共協定は、日本が全体主義國  
 家に加入するものなりとして、アメリカがその前提に於て國策を立てると、  
 非常な間違ひになる、日本は決して全体主義國家に加入するものではない、  
 と云ふことをはつきり認識して置いて貰はないと、國策の前提を誤るとお互  
 に困ることになるから、此點はよく諒承して貰ひたい、何處までも日米間の  
 親善平和が基となるから、此點はよく諒承して貰ひたい、何處までも日米間の  
 件に關聯して、稍ちもれば世間では日本が南洋侵略の野望があると云ふやう

な誤解があり随つてフィリッピン群島、或はガム、或は布哇等に危険あり、と考へるものも少くないやうである。かかる故に日米關係の上から、特に米政府が何等か此點に就て日本政府の措置を希望せらるるに於ては、日本政府は何等でも話合ひに應ずる用意がある、と云ふことを言つて、グルーも諒承して歸つた、さうして米國大使は翌の夕刻出帆の船で一時歸國した。

これに附加へて尙外務大臣が米國大使に總理のメッセージとして次の如きことを言つて居る、それは、歐洲に戦争が勃發すると云ふことは甚だ面白くない、で、獨伊の側にも隱忍すべき點もあるけれども、英佛にも又考慮すべき余地があると思ふ、アメリカも戦争防止の考があることと思ふが、日本も同様に戦争防止の考がある、で、かかる故に殊に日米は歐洲の國外に立つて居るから、兩國が平和の維持に協力し余地もお互にあるし、又協力の基盤もあると思ふ、それだけの内容を持つたものを米國大統領及國務長官に呈報し、言づけとして附加へた、といふことであつた。